13: Rivet--71-72 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 435

The first tsantsas coming to Europe had their hour [72] of renown and attained extraordinary prices. In 1865, one of them was sold for 1500 francs (1). Ten years ago another was sold at auction for 500 francs at the Hotél Drouot (2). Actually, these objects are much less rare and have lost a part of their commercial value. At Macas, at Gualaquiza and at Zamora, the whites buy them directly from the Indians for ten sucres, that is 25 francs, and take them to Cuenca, Riobamba and Loja, where they resell them for 30 to 50 sucres, that is 75 to 125 francs. In Europe, the best examples are worth 200 and 300 francs and there is not an important museum that does not possess at least one. In Paris, the Museum of Natural History has five of them, the Anthropological Society one, the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadero three, the Army Museum one, and also there are a good number in private collections.

---

1. Pozzi, op. cit. page 359.
2. D. Les Tetes Momifiees des Incas (La Nature, 20 Octobre 1900, No. 1430, p. 336.

23: Turner--57 (No date) 1944 Jivaro
116, 727, 435

"The macabre nature of the shrunken head trophies (tsantsas) of the Jibaro Indians has long assured them a ready sale to curio-hunters. As Stirling has pointed out in a valuable paper, (1) this demand has given rise to a considerable business in the manufacture of counterfeit tsantsas, with the result that a large proportion of the specimens in private (and some public) collections are in fact the heads of unclaimed dead from hospitals and pauper asylums prepared by taxidermists. The laws of Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil prohibit the export of tsantsas, but numbers are surreptitiously hawked to tourists along the Pacific coast from the Panama Canal southwards. The prices asked may range from £2 to £10 or more, according to the estimated means of the customer. While some of these may be authentic, the majority certainly are not."

"1. Stirling, M: W:, Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology: Bulletin 117. Washington, 1938. Cf. also Rivet, P., 'À propos 'de Tsantsa,' Journ. Soc. Américanistes de Paris, N:S: 24, 1932, pp. 213-14."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

442
438

barter "prices" which guide them in this. In the interior region, typical equivalences in trade goods are the following:

439
435 •

Trade Goods from the West	EQUALS	*Trade Goods from the East (Achuara)*
1 pot of salt		1 blowgun
1 pot of salt		1 gourd of blowgun dart poison
1 machete or 1 steel axe-head		1 blowgun
1 single-barrelled muzzle-loading shotgun		1 red toucan feather headband (*tawaspā*)

438
439
442

The precise equivalences of trade goods in the interior region, of course, are not the same as in other parts of the Jívaro territory because of regional differences in the scarcity of various kinds of goods. For example, west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the frontier zone, the greater quantity of Western-manufactured goods and the lesser supply of Achuara-manufactured goods raises the "prices" which must be paid in the former for the latter.

In actual practice, trading partners do not keep a strict accounting of transactions. Since a variety of valuables is exchanged by two "friends" at one time and since the Jívaro do not value numeration, the exchange is often slightly uneven. In terms of Jivaroan morality, however, it is apparently unthinkable that a "friend" would consistently attempt to take advantage of his partner in such transactions. To do so would jeopardize the continuance of the *amigri* relationship, and possibly the obligation of the host partner to protect the life of his partner against any local enemies.

441
572
442

The *amigri* relationship is viewed as being closer than that

441
572
593

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9-Jivaro SD9

684 chete. Ordinarily, the aggrieved party administers the punishment personally while several relatives hold the victim. The slashing is usually done without much care, and sometimes the [836] offender dies, although this result is not intended. In the case of premarital sexual intercourse, the punishment is administered to the girl and her lover by the girl's father. In the [837] case of adultery, a man primarily punishes his wife's lover, and a woman primarily punishes her husband.

684 836 Premarital intercourse is a less serious offense than extramarital. Premarital sexual relations are widespread, and single girls frequently become pregnant. Such affairs usually are looked upon fairly tolerantly by everyone, even by a girl's mother, as long as the girl's father does not discover them in the act. If such a discovery occurs, the father has to punish them in order to avoid becoming the butt of jokes in the neighborhood. The father is expected to slash the scalps of both under such circumstances.

684 837 When a man learns that another has had sexual relations with his wife, he has the right to cut her lover's scalp whether he discovered him in the act or not. Unlike the [593] punishment for murder, this cutting is usually administered [602] immediately by the aggrieved party, accompanied by several [605] of his kinsmen, normally brothers, parallel or cross-cousins, or his father. If the adulterer flees to a distant neighborhood or otherwise prevents them from punishing him, then the aggrieved party may, in his anger, kill the father of the adulterer, or, if he is not living, a brother or cousin (parallel or cross).

Even if the punishers are successful in their slashing of the offender's forehead or scalp, they and their close relatives usually remain angry with the family of the offender and re- [301] fuse to speak to them. After about two years, the offender is [435] also expected to pay the husband a toucan feather headband

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

of the *tawaspã* type (worth approximately one shotgun) and strings of beads. This formally terminates the matter.

Seduction of one's wife by one's brother usually does not seem to be considered quite as grave an offense as ordinary adultery. It still warrants a slashing of the offender's head, but the cutting sometimes is done with just a toucan beak instead of a machete. An offender who is a brother of the husband never has to pay anything in addition.

In cases where the husband discovers the offense at the moment of commission, his anger affects the degree of variability from the norm in the actual manner of punishment. Thus sometimes the husband may kill the offender or mutilate the genitalia of the woman. Ordinarily, however, the wife is not punished, particularly when she is not caught in the act and when she is the one who informs the husband of the incident.

Rape is not recognized as such and informants could recall no case of a woman violently resisting sexual intercourse. They said that a man would never commit such an act if the woman resisted, because she would tell her family and they would then punish him. Also, it seems that both men and women tend to regard adultery as a spicy diversion, whose attraction seems to be sufficient to make rape unnecessary.

A woman has the right to punish a husband guilty of adultery. If she actually discovers him in the act, she is expected to slash his scalp with a machete. She rarely attacks the other woman. The husband thus slashed goes to live at the house of his father, or of an avuncular relative called father, or of a brother. Usually after about a month, his wife sends him the message that if he wants to return to her, he should do so immediately or she will cut his head again. If